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Voorhees

The American Citizen

Terra Haute, 1860

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THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES,
"

OF INDIANA,

BEFORE THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

OF THE

University of Virginia,

July 4th, 1860.



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C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,
Charlottesville, July 5th, 1860. }

Hon. D. W. VOORHEES:

Dear Sir—Believing that a wider circulation of your oration delivered before the Literary Societies of the University on yesterday, will serve to increase the great pleasure experienced by your audience and give a still further circulation to sentiments, which, while they challenged an enthusiastic approval from your hearers, have a peculiar value and appropriateness in the present aspect of our country, we request a copy for immediate publication.

Hoping that you may see fit to comply with our request, at your earliest convenience, we are with sentiments of the highest regard,

Your obedient servants,

E. HOLMES BOYD,	}	Committee of the Jefferson Society.
J. McD. CARRINGTON,		
WOOD BOULDIN,		
E. C. ANDERSON, Jr.,		
R. M. VENABLE,	}	Committee of the Wash'ton Society.
WILLIAM ALLEN,		
ALEX. B. COCHRAN,		
LEIGH ROBINSON,		
DOUGLAS F. FORREST,		
WILLIAM NORWOOD,		

TERRE HAUTE, IND., July 13th, 1860.

Gentlemen—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 5th inst.

Yielding to your wishes as therein expressed, I will furnish without delay a copy of my address for publication.

I tender you my grateful thanks for the manner in which you see proper to allude to its supposed merits. I trust at least that its sentiments will not be found at variance with an enlightened and patriotic view of the true relation which the American citizen sustains towards the Federal and State governments. I trust also that it will in some measure commend itself to those who have studied impartially the history and character of the exalted race to which we belong, and the relation which different races have borne towards each other in every civilized age of the world.

Permit me to embrace this opportunity to express to you and through you to the Societies whom you represent, my deep and lasting sense of the kind and very flattering reception with which I was honored while at the University.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

D. W. VOORHEES.

E. HOLMES BOYD, WILLIAM ALLEN, and others.

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

We stand to-day in an august and venerable presence. The associations by which we are surrounded are connected with a great and unparalleled age. The scenes on which our eyes rest call up before the mind with vivid power, the early and the exalted days of the Republic. The soil on which we tread teems with classic memories. The sky that bends above us is the same that once drew the gaze of the philosophers of American liberty and American science. The barren mountains that sleep off yonder in the dim blue distance are fruitful and luxuriant in the bright and beautiful historical pictures which the youths of America, whether they be dwellers on the Aroostook or the Mississippi, have treasured away in their lessons taught by the wintry fireside. The rivers that encircle the eastern slope of a mighty continent, and that roll away from these plains to the ocean, murmur a song of everlasting praise to the deeds of immortal renown which were once enacted on their shores. All around us breathes the fame of grand and wonderful achievements. The very air is redolent of the rich odors of a short, though felicitous, blessed antiquity.

We turn our faces around towards the past. We look along down the fleeting years of little more than an ordinary lifetime, and we see the young and struggling institutions of our country arise from chaos and civil conflict.—The birthplace of distinguished merit, of genius—of him who serves his country and his race in an eminent capacity, has ever been the theme of faithful commemoration. But what shall be said of the spot where the principles of a great free government were born—where the throes of constitutional liberty were first felt in a definite form—where the volcanic ideas were first engendered, which tore as by a mighty eruption, an ancient monarchy

in twain, and made the dissevered fragment overshadow the colossal proportions of the parent trunk? We ponder over our answer in awe-struck silence, for we are in and about that place. The ground whereon we tread is holy, and the burning bush from which was spoken the independence of the American people, is blazing in full view of us from where we stand. These walls are full of a strange, touching eloquence. Freedom of action, freedom of thought, and a generous love of science and letters, constituted the trinity at whose shrine the illustrious patron of this Institution paid his devotions. The spirit of a regenerated, progressive era in the history of mankind is here. It becomes us, therefore, to gather in upon our minds the elements of the moral, political and philosophic world which surround us. And as for me, I bow with reverence before the genius of the place and the hour, and acknowledge with profound sensibility the honor that attaches to the position in which I stand.

But not only the wonderful and gigantic proportions of the past arise at this hour, like the shadowy, though splendid creation of some fabled enchanter: The present—the living, breathing present, with its arteries of action interlacing the globe; with its pulses of life beating high and bounding with an irresistible energy; its great heart throbbing beneath the weight of the destiny of the human race; it too, is here and demands the recognition of practical minds. We may not ignore it. It is the lineal descendant and legitimate offspring of those days wherein the arts of war and peace first assumed to act for American interests, guided by American valor and wisdom.

The importance of the present epoch in the history of the world, is however simply the importance which attaches to the condition and probable destiny of that universal hero of all earthly dramas,—man himself. I propose to-day to discuss him in one of his present and most important relations to the age in which we live, to God and to the hu-

man race,—as THE AMERICAN CITIZEN. And though I come here from a young and distant state, a province, as it were, of Rome in her ancient days; peopled but yesterday by the progressive spirit of the race and the age to which we belong, yet the bond of our citizenship is a joint inheritance and links us together in a firm and fraternal alliance. I come to you with the grand hailing sign, not of distress, not of peril and disaster, not of shuddering, affrighted and appalled extremity, but of liberty, of peace, of glory and of hope; I too, AM AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

It is not merely, however, for the purpose of calling to mind the lustre which attaches throughout the earth to the idea of American citizenship, that I have chosen that theme on this occasion. It is true, that everywhere beneath the sun, on the high seas and in the midst of the desert, wherever the insatiate thirst for knowledge, or gain, has lured the children of civilization, the magic power of the American name is never invoked in vain.—It is true, that wherever the human heart, galled by tyranny, feels the faintest aspiration for freedom, there the image of our laws and our civil polity appears as a heavenly visitant. It is true that the Roman, when sinking beneath the scourge, made his appeal for relief and protection to a government unequal to that which, having her seat of empire here in the west, reaches forth her hands to the uttermost parts of the earth to protect the humblest citizen that ever reposed on her bosom. All this is true, and the patriotic heart fondly dwells on these rich and fascinating evidences of national renown. And like the care-worn and heavily burthened traveler who turns aside from the wearisome highway, and revels for a season amidst seductive groves, refreshing fountains and shaded lawns, so might we dispose of weighty and serious thoughts, and give ourselves to exultation and honest pride over the political, physical, moral and mental greatness of the land we inhabit. But the times we live in, the scenes by which we are surrounded are mixed with gloom as

well as glory. The precise moment of time to-day which we occupy, is too fearfully fraught, too ominously filled with grave, grand and terrible interests to the American people, and indeed to the friends of liberty throughout the world, to admit of anything but a severe and candid scrutiny into the solemn duties as well as the priveliges, the imposing responsibilities as well as the pleasures of the American citizen. The hour draws nigh in which the pure and lofty love of country, for which our fathers were famed, will be in anxious demand. The American citizen in his full and proper developement and moving in the grand sphere which the Constitution marks out for him, is equal to the high mission whereunto he is called: the perpetuation of liberty, regulated by law. Let us look briefly at the nature of the trust reposed in his hands.

Government is a social necessity. While each successive generation of mankind has acknowledged and acted on this fact, yet every people and every age have had their distinctive principles as the basis of the institutions by which they were governed. The history of human government is one over which the student and the philosophic statesman ponder long and wonder much. Since the world began, all the powers of man, good as well as evil, have been concentrated on the stupendous problem of governing himself and his fellow-men. He was born in a paradise, and another of celestial splendor and eternal duration awaits him, if he shall happily pass the mystic river that flows between the two worlds, that were given to him from the beginning. He is the bright, supreme intelligence of this beautiful sphere,—he is linked to endless ages by the immortality of mind, and is allied to Deity by the divine origin and destiny of the soul. He is the master-piece of the handiwork of Him who conceived the flaming sun when all was dark, and bade it shine a full realization of his conceptions,—who measured the just proportions and laid the architrave of hemispheres and continents before matter had emerged from chaos,—who bade the imperial ocean seek its bed, who reared the moun-

tain and sunk the valley, and put all nature under the supremacy, not of chance, blind as fate, but of Order, the vicegerent of Jehovah on earth. Such is man, such the source whence he came, and such is the destiny that awaits him. No wonder that his Government has engaged not only the deep and protracted solicitude of himself, but even also of the Author of his being, who promulgated that great code of laws in the midst of the lightnings on Sinai, which have withstood all revolutions, and have neither been repealed, nor amended, nor loosened from the pedestal of majestic authority on which they rest.

But even the strong hand and paternal reasoning of God himself could not prevent from arising in the breasts of his own people, a desire for change in the institutions which governed them, and which they knew to be of divine ordainment. All subsequent time, all subsequent human experience, has been a reiteration of the principle of restless discontent which caused Israel to murmur against the constitution and laws of the fathers, and demand a king. Not that I mean here to state, that the tendency of the race, when acting under enlightened impulses, is towards despotism or the government of a single sceptered hand, but that revolution has been the order of the world.— Change has always been the desire of man's heart. He has never ceased to recognize the imperious necessity of government, but its forms have been as changing and diversified as the capricious movements of a dream. He who tells you that stability has ever been attained in the principles or the practice of any government hitherto established by the children of men, or indeed that permanence has ever marked any of the works of human hands, has read the history of his race in vain. It is not so: and I allude to the fact to show that struggling systems of political institutions have forever been jarring against each other, have alternately triumphed and alternately fallen, have forever been engaged in conflict, whether at the Red Sea or at Marathon, whether at Thermopylae or at Yorktown. This fact which comes down to us with all the sanction of universal history, commends itself with over-

whelming force to the American citizen who fondly imagines that to his government has been issued the sublime edict, *esto perpetua!* May it be so. May the broken column and desecrated temple never mark the downfall of American freedom. But the murky gloom of the political heavens, the angry ocean of human passion which now imperils the landmarks of the Constitution; the voice of hoarse sedition which, like the boding cry of birds of ill omen, now fills the land, the harsh sounds of unnatural, fratricidal strife between the tribes of one covenant,—all admonish us that the hour for idle wishes and vain entreaties addressed to some imaginary genius of concord, has passed away, and that action, bold, honest and patriotic action on the part of the citizen, can alone guarantee a long lease of life to the present form of the American government.

This universal instability in the political institutions of men has stamped history with its striking diversity.—Mental ingenuity and mental power have examined, grasped, adopted, and discarded every theory, built on every basis, and in turn, destroyed their own creations.—In the vast and complicated annals of the past we behold all the multiplied forms in which human government has been attempted. But in all its thousand shapes there have been but two contending principles in behalf of which men have enlisted their minds in council and their arms in action. The unlawful assumption of power by those who hold authority, has been waging an unbroken contest with the rightful sovereignty of political institutions from the earliest dawn of history to the present time. Liberty and despotism have been the two great opposing forces which have convulsed the world, torn down old systems and planted new ones, and marked the world's highway of progress with fields of battle. Their struggles for the supremacy have never ceased. It is in the heart of man to grasp at power. Dominion is sweet, and the earth and the sea with all that in them dwell have not sufficed in their subserviency to fill the measure of man's ambition to gov-

ern. Alexander the Macedonian, following the gilded meteor of conquest through all the domain of the East, and at last pausing upon the Indus to weep, because the limits of the earth were smaller than the boundaries of his imperial desires, was simply the illustration and type of that love of power which is inherent in the human heart. A crown with its jewels, a sceptre, and the robes of royalty, have never failed to lure the daring mind, unchastened by the love of legal liberty, to tempt the dangerous heights of sole supremacy. But on the other hand, resistance to the power of one over many, to the spirit of royal domination, and to the absorbing prerogatives of kingly rule, has been obstinate, fierce and perpetual. The love of power is shared by all alike, and the laboring millions of a government cherish it as dearly as he who wears away his days, and consumes his nights in feverish longings after the fleeting emblems of temporal greatness. Freedom from the impositions and restraints of one supreme will has been the wholesome object sought in almost every popular revolution in which mankind ever engaged. We may exhaust ourselves in the exploration of past ages; we may travel back beyond the area of Christ, and ascend still higher up the stream of time beyond the flood, and there by the dim, mysterious twilight of oriental history, scan the traces of ancient conflicts; we may take our stand at a period two thousand years ago, and with the clear light of a high civilization streaming around us, contemplate the contending parties of Greece—Athens, with her democracy and her aristocracy, in a perpetual struggle with varied results, and Sparta torn by rival parties; we may turn and survey Rome in the days of her greatness, when she was the full perfection of a political power, with her Gracchi and Tribunes of the people arrayed in high and fierce contest with the advocates of royalty and centralized power; we may sadly watch the expiring agonies of Roman liberty, and behold Brutus slay Caesar at the base of Pompey's statue in a mad attempt to reinstate the fallen fortunes of the republic; we may then leave the

banks of the yellow Tiber, as did the genius of liberty veiled and mourning, and cross over the dark ages, the gulf in which centuries lie buried; we may take our stand at Runnymede, and witness *Magna Charta* wrenched from the unwilling hand of the tyranical and perfidious John; we may stand on the soil of France and shrink aghast and horror-struck from the gory memories which arise on every hand as awful witnesses of the bloody baptism which that nation underwent in the Reign of Terror; we may call to mind the Dutch Republic, heroic and glorious little Holland, maintaining, in the midst of strife within, and of European despotism without her borders, a free government more than two hundred years ago; we may appeal to all nations, to the living and the dead, wherever the sun has looked down on a people enlivened by a sense of their rights, and we find the same opposing principles, the same elements at war, the same parties in contest, liberty forever lifting its bright and radiant crest against the haughty pretensions of defiant despotism.

But the success of freedom as a practical and substantial fact, as an acknowledged and palpable measure for the promotion of human happiness has only been achieved by one distinct race of the human family. Free Government, occupying the wholesome medium ground between anarchy and the licentious violence of the unrestrained populace on the one hand, and rigid tyranny on the other, has been aimed at and sought after, but never fully attained until the Anglo Saxon race laid its hand on the destinies of the world, and became the champion of liberalized civilization. Plato it is true, dreamed of his perfect Government. Utopia arose as a vision of primeval purity, peace and order. He saw men moving among their fellows in obedience solely to the higher attributes of our nature, and utterly insensible to the passions which thirst for pleasure and power. He witnessed the elevating and sacred precepts of his almost divine philosophy reduced to daily practice, by the citizens of this fanciful Republic. Law and liberty moved in exquisite harmony, and no jarring sounds were heard to issue from the various spheres of well

regulated action. But all this was simply the beautiful creation of a Philosopher's genius. He, alone, beheld it, and that with the far reaching glance of inspiration. The world never saw anything of the kind. The great tide of action and busy life, has rushed on in its fierce headlong course, guided by no system of such beneficence as was displayed to the view of the Grecian Sage. But, after the world had experimented and failed—after Philosophers had dreamed their dreams, and awakened to find them vanished, a new and mighty race gradually emerged from the rude condition of nature, and gradually became the patron of science, the friend of letters, the nurse of christianity, and the defender of constitutional freedom. To that race, the American citizen belongs, and his time may be usefully employed, and his attention profitably engaged for a brief space, in contemplating its history and its powerful characteristics.

I hold nothing in common with that false and pernicious system of political ethics, which proclaims as its favorite dogma, the unqualified equality of the whole human family. The social fabric, wherever it has been reared, has always had its virulent and determined enemies, seeking, under the specious guise of good, to implant evil in its Constitution, and to undermine and drag down the pillars of its virtue and wisdom. Our age and our nation can claim no exemption from this class of destroyers. Seizing upon some isolated expression of the founders of our Government, and perverting it totally from its original application, losing sight of, or studiously misrepresenting the circumstances under which it was originally uttered, we see men in our midst, forgetful of the proud lineage of the American citizen, and seeking to debase and tarnish the armorial bearings of the great race to which he belongs, advance the doctrine and urge the theory of absolute human equality. It is time that the great minds that dressed naked liberty in the habiliments of the American Constitution and confided her to the care and sleepless vigilance of the Anglo Saxon race on this continent, should be vindicated from the odium which would justly attach to their

memories if they had denied the superiority of the race for whom they made this Government.

Abstract equality is visible in none of the works of God. Inanimate creation presents an endless variety.—One star differeth from another star in glory. The Heavens that declare the glory of God and the Firmament that showeth His handiwork, display to the eye of the Astronomer, planets, spheres, orbs and worlds, scattered in marvellous and prolific profusion through their azure fields and awful depths, but an individuality marks each from the other—fiery Mars and lovely Venus, ringed Saturn and majestic Jupiter, Arcturus, Orion and the Pleiades with their “sweet influences,” have each and all their separate, distinguishing characteristics. The broad face of the great globe, on which we stand, presents also one vast panoramic view of change, diversity, inequality. Our minds grow dizzy in the attempt to grasp an idea of that Omnipotence, capable of producing a measureless universe, and yet with detailed accuracy, creating no two things of exact equality. The traveller who has been the pilgrim of every land, and whose adventurous foot has touched every shore, who has traversed every plain, scaled every mountain, crossed every river, navigated every sea and ocean, has been lured from spot to spot, and from clime to clime, because new scenes break upon his vision at every step, because each object he beholds has its novelty, though he may have gazed upon thousands of its species before.

Animal life is full of the same wonderful lesson; but the most striking feature of the grand system of inequality designed and accomplished by the great author of all is furnished by that highest perfection of animal existence —man himself. The inequalities of the human race are the more striking and numerous because of man’s various endowments. We pause with solemn wonder at the versatility of the creative power when we try to call to mind the countless throng of human beings who have heretofore peopled the earth, together with its millions who now people it, and reflect that in mere physical conformation no two were ever alike—were ever equal. But

the great inequality which marks one branch of the human race from another, which distinguishes one people from another, consists in those immortal parts, the intellect and the moral attributes which elevate their possessors to the social grade of angels or drag them down to the companionship of the damned. Let us raise ourselves to the full conception of this question. Let us measure to some extent at least, the inequalities which exist between the different races of the earth. Let us especially determine the due supremacy which belongs to our own race, and thus vindicate the wisdom of our ancestors and the policy of the American Republic. In the light of history we see the Anglo-Saxon race for twenty centuries steadily asserting and maintaining its right, in the face all opposing forces, to assume the guardianship of the best and dearest interests of humanity. What though its origin is in the wild mountains of Scandinavia and amidst the dark Druid Oaks of Britain; yet within the breasts of that yellow haired, fair faced and blue eyed race were the germs of a greatness and a power which mocked at the strength of the gates of Rome, and humbled the pride of civilized Europe before the American continent was discovered. It arose from the fresh, untamed regions of Northern Europe with all the newness of life,—with the bounding energy of a youthful giant. The oriental races had played their several parts and had each contributed something to the slow and halting progress which the world was painfully making in those infant ages of history. The Chaldeans had watched the stars and studied the dim rudiments of astromony from the hills and plains of the Eastern Hemisphere; the Pharaohs and Ptolmeys had developed a high order of mechanism and reared the Pyramids, built the temple of Memnon and carved the Sphynx; the Hebrew race had given warriors, statesmen, poets and sages to the world and had been the medium through which the awful presence of Deity was manifested on earth; the Persian hosts had swarmed over towards Southern Europe to subject it to the vassalage of Xerxes and his successors; Attila and Alaric had scourged the

nations, and sunk forever leaving nothing save the crimson sign of strife and battle to mark their presence on earth; the land of Pericles had reached its acme of fame, and all the great Republics of ancient days wherein liberty, science and elegant literature were supposed to dwell had grown to their full stature and were hastening to their downfall, when the tall and magnificent forms of our remote progenitors first became visible to the eye of the analist and the historian. The effete and worn out races of the East were no longer the controlling agencies of human affairs. Their labors and their discoveries were scattered along the shores of time like fragments from the bosom of the stormy ocean, and these were left for the new race to ponder over, and appropriate in the enterprise of regenerating the world. A second commencement towards the ultimate destiny of man had to be made when the world slowly awakened from the lethargy of the middle ages, and the race to which you and I belong stood ready to assume the task. The former principal races of the earth existed then as they exist now, simply as the shrunken mementoes of their once all absorbing grandeur; and the superiority which must exist somewhere amongst the tribes of men declared itself with the blood of Edward the Confessor, and Alfred the Law-giver. Since then, what do we behold? Shall the mock Philanthropist and spurious reformer tell, and convinee the enlightened world that this race of which I speak shall be recognized only as equal to those who have stood still, or whose foot prints point backwards toward ignorance and original barbarism? In the establishment of governments shall the predominant race of the earth abjure and annihilate the eternal distinctions and inequalities which were decreeed from the beginning of time between superior and inferior races?

The entire supremacy of the Anglo Saxon race in all useful achievements will not be questioned by the enlightened student. It has justly won this proud distinction. Its trophies exist in every department of human thought and action. The wisdom of the Chaldeans is ob-

secure and forgotten, while the philosophic wand of Newton rolled back the curtains of the Universe, and exposed the great arcana of its mysteries to the gaze of men as long as men shall exist, and matter retain its present form. Homer invaded the heathens' Elysium, and borrowed thence his heroes for a song of the warlike deeds of Ilium, but his counterpart of the sixteenth century, blind, sublime Milton, rose to the familiar presence of angels, soared with an even and unshaken wing through the celestial world, and then turned from the daylight glories above, and explored the dismal vaults, and walked unharmed over the burning marl of Hell. Euripides, Sophocles, Virgil, Horace and Juvenal dwelt upon all the chords of the human heart, that were then known to respond to the invocations of genius, but from the loins of the Anglo-Saxon race, there sprang a wayward bard on the banks of the Avon, who has supplanted them all, and transcended their combined glories, who stands as the acknowledged high priest and interpreter of the mysteries, the sorrows and joys of human nature in its loftiest and in its lowliest moods, and will so stand forever more. Socrates, Zeno, Aristotle and their disciples both in Greece and in Rome philosophized and laid down laboriously wrought rules of moral conduct and mental progress, but the world was startled and awakened with a sense of new being, and a revolution swept over the universal mind of civilization when Francis Bacon launched his *Novum Organum* upon the tide of time.—Cicero was eloquent, and immortalized the Forum and the Senate of Rome by his defense of the liberal principles of his country; Demosthenes filled the world with the majestic music of the Grecian tongue; but greater themes have hallowed the lips and inspired the genius of Burke, of Chatham, of Curran, and of Henry than ever awakened the thinking powers of classic ages. Lycurgus and Solon inscribed their laws as they imagined for endless durability; and Justinian prepared his Pandects for universal application; but the Common Law of England has

proved the basis of a superstructure beneath whose shadow all other systems have dwarfed, and abandoned their hold on human affairs. Sylla and Marius, and Cæsar, and Pompey, and other conquerors of the olden time without number, wrote their names with their swords high up on the canvass of fame, but ever since our ancestors stormed the walls of the Imperial City, and climbed her Capitol Hill in triumph, the blood of the Tudors and the Plantaganets has been the steadiest, the coolest, the boldest and the bravest that ever joined in the shock of battle. The ancestry of the American citizen has achieved greatness and glory in every field of mental, moral and physical action, and it remains only for him to be true to the supremacy which has already been won and which all history concedes.

But this Western Hemisphere, this great American continent is the chief theatre for the display of the vast power and resources of the Anglo Saxon race. And as if there should be a fitness and a propriety in the chain and connection of human events, the discovery of the New World was made by the descendants of those Northern tribes, who first desolated Southern Europe, and then permanently peopled its most beautiful portions.—The ancient Castilian of Spain has the blood of the marauding Vikings in his veins; and Columbus discovered the land where his far away kindred should perfect the glory of the race.

The early settlement of the American colonies, presents a sublime spectacle. A superior people, full of the wisdom and experience of an advanced stage of civilization, taking possession of the country in the name of human progress, could not fail to stamp the era as one distinguished in important results. Certain great laws of nature—laws born of the will and knowledge of God himself, controlled the conduct of the American citizen, in his first settlement upon this continent. An aboriginal race was here. A people of remote origin, and long prescriptive title to the soil, were in possession of all the land that lies between the two oceans. But the same fundamental prin-

ciple which governed the settlement of Cannan by the children of Israel, and which operated under the direct sanction of God, to exclude and exterminate, and to reduce to subserviency, the various aboriginal tribes of that chosen spot, produced precisely the same results, when American colonists landed at Jamestown, and at Plymouth. But one race was ever designed to participate in the labors, the duties, and the priviliges of one government. I speak of races distinct from each other, by their origin, their mentality, their moral tendencies, and with distinct reference to their physical characteristics.

The Indian vanished into the shades of the forest as the white man enlarged the boundaries of civilization. The law of total extermination was against him and his; and the decree that he should give place to the pale-faced conqueror was written in sole and special reference to the inevitable relation which distinct and unequal races bear towards each other when Israel was commanded to cast out the "seven nations greater and mightier" than Israel herself; greater and mightier in numbers, wealth and extent of possessions, but not linked to a superior and immortal destiny. The experiment of commingling the blood of separate races, or of combining their energies in the control of a single government, met the disapprobation of the Almighty, and has disgracefully failed wherever it has been attempted. Extermination was more desirable to the haughty Red man than subserviency; but that the philosophy and teaching of all ages, as well as the wisdom of God himself, sanction and justify the existence of a dependent and vassal condition on the part of an inferior towards a superior race, when the two are brought in contact, no well informed and impartial mind will deny. This, too, is a natural and inevitable result of the irreconcilable inequalities of the human race. It is founded on a principle coeval with the birth of man. We cannot turn a leaf of history on which are written the achievements of the best and brightest eras of civilization without finding the bondman as one of its developements. I know that the experiment of equalizing distinct races has been and may

be made again. But compare for a moment the condition in all respects, and the progress of the North American Republic with the sunken and degraded population, and fallen fortunes of the Southern portion of this hemisphere. The reflective mind needs but a glance. We would sicken to dwell long on the blighting effects of a total disregard of a natural, supreme law of humanity. Let those who will cavil at the positions which I have assumed, find the delights, the prosperity and the national glory of their system amidst the jarring, discordant scenes of the mongrel races of Mexico, Central and South America. To my mind it is sufficiently clear that the founders of our colonies and afterwards of our Federal Government, wisely framed and fashioned our institutions for themselves and their posterity, and proclaimed no equality, entered into no partnership, and divided no civil rights with any other race.—The American citizen who superintended the early labors that were bestowed on the question of our liberties and the construction of our Constitution, never asserted that all men were created equal in the sense which modern conspirators against the peace of the nation attach to those memorable words. The withdrawal by a portion of the subjects of Great Britain from their allegiance to their Prince on account of heavy grievances committed against them, and not against their British fellow subjects, was the object at which our fathers aimed when that phrase was given by them to the world. They asserted their own equality to the other citizens of the British realm, and they appealed to arms against the unjust discriminations which were made against them by a corrupt Parliament and an imbecile King. They did more. They asserted for themselves the right to become their own rulers, and denied the superiority any longer of that branch of their own blood which they had left behind them on the Isles of Great Britain. They asserted their right to become their own noblemen, their own aristocracy and their own King.—This was one of the species of equality which they proclaimed. But looking out upon the grand future which was awaiting the work of their hands, they asserted still

another kind of equality which will forever be a question of the first magnitude with their posterity—the equality of American citizenship. With an eye on the Temple whose beautiful proportions were gradually rising, and remembering all the time for whom it was being constructed, they proclaimed the lawful inmate of that Temple free from the despotic forms of government which then darkened the whole face of the globe, and equal to all others whose rights were thus recognized. A reasonable and sensible construction of the Declaration of our Independence as a nation, can only be arrived at in the light of the circumstances which surrounded its production and adoption. It had reference to the causes which called it into existence, and the purposes it was designed to accomplish. If it was intended as a sweeping assertion of universal human equality it stands in the face of six thousand years of testimony to the contrary ; and if it was intended as a broad charter under which all men within the jurisdiction of its operations could claim their freedom and become free, then it stamps its author and its advocates as falsifiers of their own words, and is itself the greatest failure in the history of human efforts. But if, on the contrary it receives its just purport, its palpable meaning as a declaration of civil rights, on behalf of those whose rights were invaded, and who were solemnly reclaiming them from the grasp of power, then it stands in harmony with the facts which preceded as well as those which succeeded its adoption, and should be venerated by rising generations as the grand enunciation of the principles of freedom which made us a free people.

We have thus seen the necessity of government and the various shapes and phases it has assumed under the wilful and restless spirit of man. We have seen the eternal conflict, throughout all changes and revolutions, between the principle of liberty and the iron force of despotism. We have seen the inequalities of the human race, and witnessed freedom choosing for her guardian and defender the superior branch of that race. We have seen the theatre of human greatness and national excellence transferred by slow

marches, moving as the great cycles of time move, from the gorgeous and luxurious plains of the ancient seats of Empire; from the banks of the Euphrates and the Indus, from the banks of the Nile, from the shores of the dark Euxine, from the waters of the Mediterranean, from the regions of the swift and arrowy Rhone and the dark rolling Danube; yea, in a powerful measure from the very banks of the Thames itself, to the banks of the Potomac and the Mississippi. And we have seen at last, a government here assume shape and form, founded upon the philosophic relation which exists between the different races that inhabit this continent; and dedicated to the freedom and equality of its citizens.

We might here, perhaps, appropriately pause and reflect upon the position which that government has so quickly attained before the world. Strange, strange, and without a parallel: alone, solitary, and without a peer in all history, has been the career of American progress. It is a mystery which the tongue is too feeble, and our language too barren, adequately and fully, to interpret. It seems as fabulous as the palace of Aladdin, and yet it bears a moral too vast and overwhelming for human comprehension. The statesman with his proudest periods, and the poet with his sublimest passages, have dwelt upon the sudden and brilliant promotion of the American Government to the foremost rank, and, indeed, far in advance of the foremost rank of nations. But, in the presence of the great fact itself, in the presence of the living glory, all description fails, and eulogy falls weak and baffled to the ground. The voice of our brief history, drowns and stifles all other voices that may be raised in its behalf, as the voice of the ocean would overwhelm the song that was uttered in its praise on the beach. Liberty has not merely conferred unequaled civil rights on the American citizen, but like Brairius of old, it has touched with a hundred hands, all the springs of human progress. The physical improvement of the country has especially obeyed its gigantic impulse. The ancient works of scientific labor, the Egyptian Pyramids, the Roman Aqueducts, the Appian

Way, and the Temple of Ephesus, sink into utter insignificance, when compared with the industrial glories of this young Republic. But however delightful it may be to the American to dwell upon the various developments of his country, yet there are other questions of vital and pressing interest which more properly commend themselves to his consideration, at the present juncture of our affairs. Let us not boast so much upon what has already been done, but let us rather address ourselves to some of the more important duties of the American citizen, on the full performance of which depends the future welfare, yea, the very existence of the Republic.

Other ages, other people, and other countries have as we have seen, achieved excellence of a high degree in the various fields of human action, but the peculiar form and character of the American Government stand alone, without a model in the past, the discovery and accomplishment of our own race, our own age, and our own country. To embrace many governments in one, to deal with independent and distinct sovereignties, and procure their acceptance of a Constitution framed for their Government, in an associated capacity, was the delicate task which fell to the hands of our fathers. Similar attempts, it is true, have been made in the history of the world, but the American Union is the first confederation of States, in the annals of mankind where the attributes of sovereignty were allowed to remain in its individual members. Centralization of power has been the bane of every confederation of which history gives any account, and the brightest displays of learned statesmanship, which this or any other age ever beheld were made by the founders of this government, in originating and adopting the means whereby that rock of shipwreck and disaster might be forever avoided. Their success is now admitted, if the present and future citizen shall faithfully adhere to the doctrines then enforced and agreed upon by the Architects of the American Union.— And the strong tendency which was displayed in the early history of our Government, towards an unjust absorption

of the powers of the States by the Federal Government, and which again discovers itself in the most odious forms, after an apparent slumber of years, demands of the citizen, fully to comprehend what those doctrines were. If this Union, through fanaticism and licentious sectional hate, shall perish, shall therefore American liberty itself fail? I am aware that such is the usual consequence attributed to the destruction of this Confederacy. It may be true. No eye can foresee the correct results of such an appalling disaster, but when the original compact of States shall have failed of its purpose, if fail it must, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," why may not the rights of freemen find sanctuaries in the several States? They were the first Governments of this country, and delegated but never surrendered beyond the power of reclamation, certain of their own powers, duly and carefully specified to the Federal Government in trust, and to be exercised strictly in obedience to that sacred deed of trust—the Constitution. Who shall say when the trustee becomes unfaithful, and all the methods recognized in the different departments of the Government, have been exhausted in vain, to compel the performance of the conditions on which the trust was created, that each State of this Union may not reinvest itself with all its original rights, privileges and powers? This double chance for the American citizen to perpetuate his freedom, is the chief glory and crowning virtue of our complex, and at the same time, simple and beautiful system of Government. If the force of numbers, inflamed by the wicked and heretical spirit of aggression upon established, constitutional rights, should ever strike down any one or more of these States, by the usurped authority of the General Government, then it remains for such States themselves to lift up and reinstate fallen liberty. Deny this right to the State and you destroy its boasted sovereignty, and open up the road to a tyranny, guided by prejudice and passion, more galling to its victims and more destructive of their happiness.

ness, than the hand of a sanguinary despot ever inflicted. This is no new principle that I am asserting; it is not for its novelty, that I advance it here, but it involves rights of such magnitude to the citizen; rights strenuously questioned by a large class of evil spirits, who now surround the political cauldron, and invoke a charm of direful import to the Republic, that it should be more boldly and firmly advanced now than ever before. The struggles of freedom, the advancement of the liberal arts, the development and supremacy of the Anglo Saxon race, the settlement of the American colonies, their resistance to the demands of George III, the wisdom of the early patriots who discovered a new and mighty science of human government, all, all are in vain, if legal rights may be destroyed, and sacred privileges invaded,—the bond of our Union, perverted, in these latter days, into an instrument of torture and degradation; if these things may happen, and all in the name of liberty and equality, and there be no lawful mode to arrest evils so monstrous. But the American citizen is not left helpless and without resources in the face of such sad contingencies, which, alas! may be hovering nearer the present crisis of public affairs than the hopeful lover of his country is willing to realize. He looks to the doctrine of the rights of the States and invokes the name and memory of Jefferson, who declared the independence of the people, and taught them how to maintain it from the insidious assaults of sedition and treason, as well as from open enemies.

State Equality is a necessary accompaniment of State Sovereignty. That each State of this Union affords its citizens an absolute equality in every respect, under the American Constitution with the citizens of every other State is a fact founded upon the spirit of justice which controlled the foundation of this confederacy. This kind of equality is an especial object of assault in these days of degenerate patriotism. The greedy avarice and insatiate demands of the descendants of a bigoted and speculating class now seek to absorb the right to think, the right to act, and the right to possess and enjoy, for, and in the place

of, and to the exclusion of all who exist outside of their malignant circle. This fact constitutes the paramount evil of the hour. These arrogant assumptions must be rebuked, crushed and destroyed or this Union is no longer a Union, and will perish as a wonderful evidence of what genius and patriotism can create, and what the restless and corrupt fanaticism of man can destroy. This Union was founded upon the principle that each member was its own domestic ruler and that its neighbor should neither seek to unsettle its domestic institutions or strive to cast a blight and a mildew over its reputation by becoming a common slanderer before the world. On the land, in the broad Territories, on the high seas and wherever American citizens may rightfully go, there goes also an absolute equality in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.—The citizen of South Carolina may meet the citizen of New York, the citizen of Indiana may meet the citizen of Virginia, the citizen of Florida may meet the citizen of Maine, but who dares assert that they do not meet as equals in the eye of that Constitution which was made as much for the one as for the other. Shall that school of false philosophy and spurious statesmanship which upholds universal human equality deny the equality of the citizenship of the Republic?

Recent Legislation, and attempted Legislation as well as the wide spread promulgation of the most dangerous dogmas give great significance to this question. It embraces the whole theory from which American citizenship derives its value. It goes farther. It involves, as a living, vital issue now upon us, the continuation of our present form of Government. The proud heart wherever it beats recoils with horror, or rather swells with indignant emotion at the thought that the star of the State whose pride and honor is its own, shall ever grow dim and blaze with an inferior and unequal lustre to the stars which signalize the other States on the flag of the Union. If such a degradation could have been foreseen, what State would have hazarded its honorable existence and tempted its melancholy fate by joining the compact and signing the cove-

nants of the Constitution? Not one. If some sage with the gift of second sight could have risen on the floor of the Convention, whose labors developed the American Constitution and there announced, as a vision, which less than a century would make real, that a party pretending patriotism would organize itself upon the doctrine of the inequality of the States, would proclaim the chief end of political labor to be the discrimination through the power of the Federal Government against the vested, legal rights of a section; if such an announcement had been made and its truth foreseen, the American Union would never have had a place in history. The Convention would have adjourned without day, and its delegates returned to their States, there to establish liberty exposed to no such future calamity and curse. Yet that curse is already upon us, and one of the duties of the American citizen is to study its nature fully, and if possible avoid its manifest purpose.

I shall not here invade the arena of political discussion. I shall not advance the views of the partisan; but the general principles which affect a nation's welfare, and the vicious results of diseased opinions which assail the fundamental laws and virtues of a free people are not unworthy of mention on the most solemn and exalted occasions. No interest that appertains merely to earth is of such sublime consequence to the American as the maintainance of his birth-right in the equal enjoyment of legal liberty. I shall endeavor to point out the chief danger to that birth right and the arch enemy to that sacred enjoyment. The rapid growth of the country, the increasing avenues to wealth and promotion, the vast number of internal and external questions of policy, the political revolutions which sweep over the nation, presenting endless and overwhelming temptations to call forth the worst passions of men, have all combined to beget that most dangerous and revolting pest to human society and foe to public peace and virtue—THE SEDITIOUS CITIZEN. Within that phrase is embraced the nature of the evil with which the friends of the American Union are now assailed. No open violence yet grasps at unlawful power, no Caesar has crossed the Rubi-

con, but the air grows dark with the elements of sedition, and a vast conspiracy is gathering force to usurp the seats of power at the Capitol over the torn and dishonored fragments of the Constitution. The seditious citizen glories in the billows of popular fanaticism which roar around him and rejoices in sight of the fatal leesshore on which the Union is drifting. No cry of horror escapes his lip. He rather jeers at the warning voice of others. He seeks with insane fury to grasp with his own hand the helm of the vessel to hurl her more swiftly and surely on destruction. He professes to mock at calamity, and laugh at fear. It would be the first and most natural supposition of a patriot's heart that such a citizen would sink down, a powerless and despised victim to public scorn.

“But in seditions bad men rise to honor,”

and what was written of the days of Cleon and Alcibiades is made true in American history. Instead of ostracism, not the ostracism of the shell, for its banishments fell on a worthier class, but the ostracism of strong contempt and abhorrence, we see the seditious citizen receive the senatorial robe, and from that high and once sacred eminence, we hear him vex the ear of the nation. He is not satisfied with his government. He clamors for change. He does not boldly proclaim the necessity of revolution or amendment to the Constitution. That would be too manly for his character. He prefers to plunder his fellow citizens of their rights, by false constructions and cowardly evasions. He is not content, that peace and fraternal affection should remain an undisturbed inheritance to the descendants of those who laid the foundations of the Union, in love with one another. But in the paths of danger, or probable combat he never ventures. He is content to incite the deluded disciples of his creed, to follow its logical and inevitable results to the extent of blood, and civil war, but that is not the part of the drama of sedition in which he personally appears. In order to establish unkind relations between different sections, and foster jealousy and vindictive rivalry between kindred blood, he prostitutes his time in

the base and ignoble pursuit of materials on which to found systematic and elaborate calumny. The slander of states of historic renown, and unimpeached devotion to the laws, he rolls as a sweet morsel, beneath his tongue. He is eminently gifted with that quality which would drag angels down, not that he has the power or even the desire to soar into their places, but he grows pale in the envy of superior excellence, and delights in the abasement of virtue. Not satisfied with calumniating states, and denying their equality, he reviles statesmen of spotless integrity, and approved wisdom, and seeks to impair their usefulness, by casting a blight over their fame. Nor do the dead escape his fangs. He preys with accursed avidity on those great and good names, whose possession is the nation's truest wealth and brightest glory. He drags them from their dread abode, and consumes the night and wastes the day in torturing their virtues into frailties for an indecent exhibition. Miltiades died within a year after the battle of Marathon, of a gangrened wound, and in a prison where his ungrateful countrymen had placed him, but the seditious citizen of the United States, in the august assemblage of Senators, declares Washington a pirate, in the practices of his domestic life, Madison a barbarian, Jackson, Clay and Calhoun robbers, and foes to christian civilization. Ingratitude and injustice to the living is an evil sufficiently deplorable but the willful slander of the dead is the lowest depth of baseness to which the mind of a dastard can descend. If the seditious citizen visits foreign lands, he goes not as the generous patriot, whose home-sick heart bounds with proud emotion when he sees the ample folds of the flag of his country floating in undiminished splendor. He goes rather as the carping defamer of American institutions, and wins his way to the ante-chambers of Despotism, by pronouncing American freedom a failure. He ransacks ancient libraries and burrows amongst the curiosities of literature, to find strange materials with which to embellish and adorn a malicious libel against the land that gave him birth. He digs up the forgotten

opinions of men no wiser than himself, and flaunts them in the face of the world, as the conclusive evidences of truth. And to what end is all this? For what purpose are all these labors? There is but one answer. To create sectional enmity, to beget animosity, to degrade the citizens of one section of this government in the eyes of the citizens of another section, and thus destroy that sense of American equality, which alone can preserve the Union of the States, are the mournful and calamitous objects on which the seditious citizen fastens all the powers of his will, and toward which he summons all his energies and intellectual resources. His chief delight and the most gratifying consequence of his labors, is to embroil in sanguinary strife, the brethren of one race, one language and one worship. History has given over to an infamous immortality, the names of a few citizens of Jerusalem who played the same part in the hour when dangers of mortal extremity assailed the city of David. When Titus environed the city with the deep squadrons and long drawn out legions of Rome, when the walls were broken day by day, when famine, gaunt and frightful sent its devouring pangs amidst the beleaguered hosts within, when the dead lay piled upon the dead, and the holy rites of sepulture were abandoned, when fire burst from the gaping earth, when unearthly sounds were heard, and unearthly visitations experienced, when the Jew and the Roman stood still and paused by mutual consent, in their work of slaughter, to gaze in awful amazement at fiery squadrons charging each other in the clear vaults of Heaven above them, when the doom of the Jewish nation, and the fulfillment of prophecy were betokened with marvelous certainty, yet, in the midst of all this, the seditious citizen traversed the streets, usurped the places of authority and inflamed a bitter warfare, revolting scenes of carnage, between tribes of the same covenant, exposed to the same destiny. The historian of remote periods when carefully collecting the materials for the history of the present age of the American Republic, will preserve its seditious citizen as a species of

the same God-defying madness,—the same shocking specimens of a cruel, and insane fanaticism. Though dangers environ the Union, and encompass the Constitution on all sides, though the laws are broken down, and scorned beneath the foot of the traitor, though brother has lifted his hand against brother, though society itself, is menaced with violent disruption, though “the custom of fell deeds” seems prevalent, though “Domestic fury, and fierce civil strife” threaten to pervade all the confines of this hitherto happy country; yet with a felon's voice we hear him invoking more and more the bitterness and sectionalism which have already produced this startling condition of public affairs. In the name of liberty France was smitten with a curse, and Arnold called upon her name to justify him in his infamy, but the seditious citizen of the American Government of the present day, with the same sweet sound on his polluted tongue, seeks to inaugurate scenes of deeper horror than those through which Madame Roland passed to the scaffold; and to perpetrate a treason in comparison with which the treason of Arnold would become common place and insignificant. We are told that the Ancient God Ixion, in seeking the embraces of Juno embraced a cloud, and from this unnatural embrace the Centaurs sprang in their malice and their deformity. We see something similar in this practical age without seeking it in the pages of Grecian Mythology. The seditious American citizen who holds public station, embraces a corrupt and stormy fanaticism, and a brood of frightful and depraved theories and revolting actions instantly spring up, and

“With wide Cerberian mouths full loud”
harrass and shock the patriotism of the country.

And against the evil tendencies of the present hour what have we to oppose? What is our remedy for principles more pernicious than the plague? Where is the patriots house of refuge? Reason, argument and peaceful remonstrance are thrown away upon the authors of sedition.— We can appeal to the patriotism of the country, to the

popular sense of justice, to the law-abiding spirit of the citizen who loves the institutions of his fathers. We can hold up to our countrymen the sacred Constitution, hallowed by the sublime reminiscences of the past and gathering increased glory and consequence in view of the approaching future. We can point them to the rents which the thrusts of seditious citizens have made in that holy instrument, and appeal to the lovers of their country wherever they may be to revenge the desecration. We can oppose wise counsels to the ravings of fanaticism, and brotherly love to sectional strife. We can appeal to the American citizen to allow the house which his fathers built to stand forever—that though divided it may be in its domestic economy, yet it is not divided unto its fall.— We can do all this and we can hope that our labors will bring forth the fruits of peace. But if the evil hour must come, if patriotism is to be humiliated and treason exalted, if the schemes of the seditious citizen are to triumph and civil strife and commotion are to cumber this fair land, then may some Brutus avenge the cause of liberty in the Capitol; and may the authors of our ruin be the first to sup full of its horrors!

But we will turn away from this gloomy theme and refresh ourselves with more pleasing pictures. It, in the wisdom and mercy of Divine Providence, this government is permitted to survive the baleful principles of the present crisis, serene skies and a peaceful calm await us in the future. The patriot will take hope and the conspirator will shrink away baffled, into an odious oblivion. Good omens will cheer us and the Anglo-Saxon race will rush forward again on the bright track of American progress.

The expansion of the Republic is a natural law of its healthy existence. That principle is now paramount to all other questions of national policy which remain to be developed, except the question of the preservation of the Union itself. In the past it has steadily met the requirements of the age, but the future of this government, if it shall happily have a future, is to be one wide theatre of

expansion. Opposition has always stood in the way of this doctrine but we have only to look at the map of the United States to vindicate it in its former practical results. But for that construction of the Constitution which gave to it its expansive force, this hour the very heart and central portion of our confederacy, the spot where Saint Louis sits, the commercial queen of the mighty west, the Mississippi and its western and southern tributaries; Florida and the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, New Orleans with its floating palaces freighted with the staple articles which link together the commerce of two worlds, San Francisco and California, the city and State of magical, golden growth, would all be in the possession of foreign powers, owned by foreign governments, and governed by the bayonets of Europe. Who would now tear out the chapters of our history which record these territorial acquisitions? But if this Union shall escape its perils, if the Constitution shall survive its enemies our future will be to our past as is the meridian sun to the gray struggling dawn of the morning. There is a destiny in the pathway of this Union such as the eye of man never beheld nor the heart of man conceived. Allowing no more than that this young government shall double its present lifetime, and what a future rises before the mind! Who shall paint the Republic of that period? Who shall speak of its commerce and number its ships that go down to the sea? Who shall portray its cities—its Tyres, its Sidons, its Carthages and its Romes? Who shall count their wealth and image forth in this age the splendors that shall await on that? Who shall attempt to reckon the myriads that shall then inhabit our plains, our valleys and our mountains? Who shall foretell the improvements of science and the triumphs of man over the world of nature around him? Who will take the map now and draw the boundaries of this Republic when age shall have given it the full stature of vigorous manhood?

But we will wait for no distant future to accomplish much of that destiny which I have suggested. It is now

rising and becoming visible to the eyes of the present génération. The expansive principle of this government has hitherto mainly followed the track of the sun into the imperial possession of the West, but it is now wooed into the embrace of softer climes and more fruitful fields. The South, the South, the South shall henceforth be the watch-word of American expansion. The law of political gravitation points in that direction and the South herself should not lose the golden opportunity which the spirit of the age holds out to her. The whole patriotism of the country responds to the course of manifest destiny. I speak not of that manifest destiny which moves without law, but of that which is to be achieved by law. The spirit of American liberty and American progress is abroad upon the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and Spanish Tyranny is trembling in its presence. This spirit has touched the shores of Cuba and will never be driven from her soil until the wisdom of American statesmanship has achieved her acquisition. This question has arisen in the pathway of progress and we cannot ignore or go round it. It must and will be met in a practical form. The day for argument is past and gone. The whole civilized world beholds, though it may not acknowledge, the right and the national necessity which exists on the part of the American government to the ownership of the Key to the Gulf. Action, action, lawful but unyielding action should now characterize the policy of the American citizen in his relation to that glorious, though oppressed Island.

But, is this all? Are there no other concerns of vast national import under the south western horizon? Ah! what giant events are there awaiting the ripening process of a few eventful years. In vain, we may turn our faces from them or shut our eyes to the shadows which they cast before in their coming. In vain, too, will be open opposition to their approach. The greatest acts in the drama of American development are yet to come, and the curtain will as surely rise upon them, as years come and go, with the changing seasons. Look to Mexico! Lost, fallen, dissevered, bleeding at every pore, the prey of

domestic assassins, the sport of bloody handed factions, her neck beneath the heel of alternate beggarly usurpers, her fields drenched with the blood of her own veins; chained to the rock of semi-barbarism with the links of Despotism festering in her flesh, like the links of the lame Lemnian, and the Promethean vulture of civil war, forever consuming her vitals. Her experiment of government in every form has proved a failure. Instead of peace, order and happiness to the citizen, misrule, like the Destroying Angel, fills all her borders with desolation and death. This condition of affairs cannot last. There is no corner of the earth, where the Anglo-Saxon blood has penetrated, dark enough for such scenes to have a long duration. Much less will they continue their ghastly round within the immediate sphere of American influence, and American advancement. Step by step we have approached, in the past history of the country, the attitude which we now sustain towards Mexico. It has not been sought, neither could it have been avoided. The onward march of human affairs, the tendency of the American mind in that direction, the philosophy of political motion, the irresistible superiority of the Anglo-Saxon blood, have all conspired to bring this Government to look upon the destiny of Mexico as linked to her own. There are those within the hearing of my voice, many, I doubt not, who will witness the joining of those destinies in one, and will behold the land of the Aztecs carved into American States. Examine your maps, commence at the mouth of the Rio Grande, trace along down through the waters of the Bay of Vera Cruz, around that high headland of Yucatan, down through the Caribbean Sea, across the Tropic of Cancer into the Gulf of Darien; cross the Isthmus there, into the Gulf of Panama, follow up the Pacific coast through twenty two degrees of Latitude to the boundary line of the Treaty of 1854, and all within those limits, is fastened to the interests and wrapped up in the Destiny of American Institutions by the great God, whose hand shapes the continents of the earth, and scoops out its Oceans, Gulfs and Harbors. The great law of self defense and national

security, a law of nations paramount to all other laws, calls imperatively for the practical recognition of this fact in the Diplomacy and Legislation of the Government. The waters of the Gulf of Mexico, on its Northern and Eastern coast, now wash the borders of five States of this Union, and its tide rises to the wharf of the commercial Metropolis of the South. Over on the opposite side lie the distracted States of Mexico, and lower down, those of Central America. They would constitute an easy acquisition to any European power with sufficient boldness to defy the Monroe policy of this Government, and from that line of coast, the hostile armaments of all Europe could be equipped in sight of American soil. If the American Union shall be preserved, its wisest Statesmen will be the first to look steadily and boldly to these facts, and to shape the policy of the nation towards its lawful and inevitable expansion.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETIES OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON.—You are surrounded to-day by no ordinary circumstances. An epoch in the history of liberty has been reached which will be forever memorable in the annals of coming time. As you leave these venerable walls and start out to meet life with its rugged issues, the great and imperious question of the hour which will first salute you will be the preservation of that constitutional liberty which the fathers of the Republic provided for the enjoyment of their posterity; and second to that will be the consideration of that destiny which awaits the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent. You are born to a mighty responsibility as well as to a rich inheritance. You spring from a race unto whom is given dominion, power and exaltation over the other races of the earth. The blood of a conquering, governing race is in your veins and brings with it the responsibility which attaches to the leadership in the concerns of Earth's supremest moment. You are of the lineage of Washington, who led the army of Independence, whose great heart resisted the appalling adversities of the Revolution, who stood upon the banks of the Delaware and above the roar of the elements heard the call of patriotic duty, who led his little column to the

mouth of the cannon at Trenton, who led the feeble colonies, like Moses at the head of the Tribes in the wilderness, but who more favored than the great captain of Israel, was permitted from the plains of York Town to enter into the possession of liberty; who stands now and will stand forever as a sublime and unapproachable example of virtue, and love of country. He was born in the county of Westmoreland and in the State of Virginia, but the whole Anglo Saxon race from all the four quarters of the Globe points to his matchless life as an evidence of its superiority, and humanity itself assumes new dignity because the name of Washington has been written in her records. You are of the same lineage too of the great philosopher of liberty, of Thomas Jefferson, who studied the principles of government as he did the eternal truths of science, who loved freedom in an excess of devotion, who drafted the fundamental doctrines of our national existence, who foresaw more clearly than any other statesman of that day the grandeur of the future upon which American institutions were advancing, who laid aside the robes of office more honorable than the imperial purple and turned to the genial pursuit of letters, laid these foundations where we stand, and entitled himself to the epitaph which marks the grave of the author of the Declaration of civil and religious freedom and the patron of learning in the western world. To your hands, in common with the young generation to which you belong, will soon be committed the interests which were bequeathed to you by the patriots and sages of American antiquity. Each one of you will assume ere long the high and responsible character of an American citizen, active in the varied scenes which now chequer the public affairs of the nation. You will never, however, forget your birth right, the pure blood of your ancestors, nor the destiny which awaits the American Union preserved in its justice and in its equality.—Nor will you ever forget the loyal influences of this great State on whose bosom you have reposed while here drinking in inspiring draughts, from her crystal fountain of learning. Virginia teaches no doubtful lesson on the sub-

ject of her devotion to the Constitution and the Union.— Happy are they who sit at her feet and learn wisdom from her precepts! She is rich in historical renown. She rocked the cradle of the Union and defended the infant Hercules from the grasp of the Serpent. Within her bosom repose the ashes of those most illustrious in the cause of liberty since the song of Miriam arose as a song of deliverance on the banks of the Red Sea. The curious traveler threads his way amongst the tombs of Westminster Abbey and on either hand sleep Kings, conquerors, princes, poets, statesmen, historians and philosophers. In that solemn pile genius rests from its brilliant triumphs and its exquisite sorrows, and eloquence and learning hallow the spot with the glory of intellectual excellence. But the modest eminence of Mount Vernon, and the quiet heights of Monticello contain more precious dust than was ever treasured away in the "storied urn" of human greatness or the royal sepulchre of Kings. The soil of this ancient and revered commonwealth is rich with the shrines of the mighty. Her children have been the tall spirits of the earth, and every valley and every mountain is full of thrilling memories. The drama of the Revolution closed within her borders. The spirit of American liberty here first took assurance of safety, and a permanent existence. But the historian who records the various and exalted glories of Virginia will find in her loyalty and devotion to the Union and the Constitution as it now is, something of more priceless value, a jewel of more radiant lustre, than any of the historical glories with which she is so richly decorated. Whatever hereafter may be the policy reluctantly adopted by Virginia, no one can charge her with a willing and ready desertion of the established order of things. A wonderful scene is presented to us as we look back on the strange events which have recently convulsed the nation. Sedition sent an armed force against her border. Fanaticism sought to give the flesh of her citizens a prey to the eagles, and her houses to the torch of the incendiary. Murder was inaugurated as a virtue on her soil, and her domestic insti-

tutions were assailed with a sectional hate which rejoiced in the prospect of a carnival of blood. The barriers of State sovereignty and the safeguards of State equality were broken down at the behests of the seditious citizen. The mother of States and of Statesmen was the first to feel the unnatural and ungrateful blow of a monstrous conspiracy against the Constitution. In that hour of bitterness, in that day of her calamity, when her wrongs were fresh, and her wounds were bleeding, the messenger of a new Union, the bearer of despatches from a sister State of the South, came to Virginia, and tempted her in the moment of her severest temptation, in the very wilderness of her sufferings, to abandon the temple of her ancient worship. It was true that the old Union of the Fathers had not afforded her protection against criminal outrage. It was true that war had been proclaimed against her by the consistent followers of a prevalent sectional fanaticism. It was true that the equality of American citizenship was stricken down on the soil which gave it birth. But remembering her early struggles and sacrifices, calling to mind the precious memories which bind her to the American Union, yearning for the return of fraternal harmony and hoping all things, Virginia turned her back on the Tempter to Disunion, and announced her determination to appeal once more to the holy spirit of justice and peace which has not finally taken its flight from the country. This proud act of magnanimous forbearance will never grow dim. It will be treasured up and recalled to the honor of this illustrious commonwealth through every vicissitude of her fortunes. The full measure of her duty has been performed, and the blood of disunion can never be found on her skirts. May each State profit by her example! May her wise precepts govern the public mind as in the days of Madison and Henry! May Union never be destroyed, but in any event and under all circumstances may the American citizen be true to his race, and true to liberty as it is recognized in the American Constitution!

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